

A
SHORT ADDRESS
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TO THE
PEOPLE OF SCOTLAND,
ON THE SUBJECT OF
THE SLAVE TRADE.
WITH A
SUMMARY VIEW OF THE EVIDENCE
DELIVERED BEFORE A
COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,
ON THE
PART OF THE PETITIONERS,
FOR ITS
ABOLITION.

Shall fancy then, before the awful shrine
Of public justice, dare intrude her step,
And with false tints, and wanton pencil, stain
Th' unfulfill'd robe of truth?—Ah deem not so,
Ye advocates of mercy!—Her weak hand
Wou'd catch some feature of that demon form,
That tramples o'er creation.—But in vain
She strives to mark the terrors of his mien;
For whilst her gaze, darker shades o'erspread
His deep deformities. Th' historian's skill,
The poet's energy, the painter's art,
Shrink from the contest: not shall fancy's eye
Select a deed of more transcendent guilt,
Whose crimson lustre pales not, when compar'd
With the deep hue of his unvarnish'd crimes:

Wrongs of Africa.

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AT THE EXPENSE OF THE SOCIETY INSTITUTED FOR THE ABOLITION OF THE
AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE.

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SHORT ADDRESS

TO THE

PEOPLE OF SCOTLAND

BY

SUMMARY VIEW OF THE EVIDENCE

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SHORT ADDRESS

TO THE PEOPLE OF SCOTLAND.

As many exertions are making in every part of Great-Britain, not only to meliorate the present unhappy condition of the oppressed Africans in our Plantations, by some necessary and humane regulations in the colonial laws; but entirely to prohibit, under the sanction of parliamentary authority, the future importation of Negroes as Slaves, to any of the British settlements in the West-Indies: It is time that every individual should turn his eyes on the trade to Africa, which is an insolent and daring violation of every principle of liberty, humanity, and justice; the source of almost every calamity the Negroes endure in their own country, and the cause of all their misery in the Middle Passage, where, crowded in the foul and pestilential holds of ships, twenty-five thousand annually perish of disease and broken hearts. And the unhappy survivors are delivered into the hands of masters, whose natural feelings are destroyed by early and continual intercourse with the worst of Slavery; where their bodies are wasted by insupportable toils, and their spirits broken by insult and barbarity; where they are deprived of the best privileges of our nature, conjugal affection, and parental love. It is this trade which closes every avenue of the heart against compassion, and renders man a prey to man. A trade which attends not to the voice of reason, the precepts of religion, or the admonitions of conscience: Annihilates every distinction of right and wrong, and overturns the system of Nature and of God. "A trade is destructive of life, that one hundred thousand Africans are annually transported across the Atlantic to supply the loss, and keep up the number of these unfortunate men, who are doomed to toil, to slavery, and death."

That this is no exaggerated account of the baneful influence of the Slave-Trade over the heart of man, no fanciful description of human depravity or human misery, will appear from the summary of the evidence here submitted to your consideration. The following facts are selected from a book entitled, "An Ab-

" Abstract of the Evidence delivered before a Select Committee of
 " the House of Commons, in the years 1790 and 1791, on the
 " part of the Petitioners for the Abolition of the Slave-Trade*."

Manner of procuring Slaves.

THE first object for your consideration, is the mode of procuring or making slaves on the coast of Africa. The slave merchants will tell you they are prisoners of war, or persons convicted of crimes. This is the truth, but it is not all the truth. This deception is employed, the more effectually to impose upon you, by first gaining your confidence. Let us take the explanation of the term WAR, from their own mouths, and we shall find it as different from the common acceptation of the word in Europe, as light and shade.

One of the principal traders told Dr. Trotter, that prisoners of war were such as were carried off by a set of marauders who ravage the country for that purpose; the bushmen making war to make slaves. And another considerable trader informed Mr. Falconbridge, that in Africa a piratical expedition for making slaves, is termed war.

Lieutenant Simpson was repeatedly told by the black traders, that wars were made for the sole purpose of getting slaves. This will be further confirmed, and better illustrated, by an example or two taken from the Abstract, p. 16, and 17.

Mr. Bowman says, the war men once or twice in eight or ten days used to come to the factory for powder and ball, gun flints, and small shot, rum, tobacco, and a few other articles. When supplied, they blew the horn, made the war cry, and set off to make slaves. He once joined the party, anxious to know in what manner slaves were procured. Having travelled all day, they came to a river, when he was told they had not much farther to go. They crossed the water, and waited for night, Mr. Bowman was afraid to go farther, and obtained from the king's son a guard of four men. In half an hour he heard the war cry, when they reached the town. In a short time they returned, bringing from twenty-five to thirty men, women, and children, some at the breast. At this time he saw the town in flames. He never saw any slaves at Scaffus who had been convicted of crimes. He has been called up in the night to see fires, when the townsmen have told him it was war carrying on. Wherever he traded, or wherever he travelled, he has usually passed burnt and deserted villages, and was constantly told that

* This Abstract is a very valuable book, and should be read by every friend to truth, impartiality, and justice. It is circulated through every parish in Scotland, and may be obtained by a proper application to the Minister.

"war had been there, and the natives had been taken in the manner before described, and carried to the ships."

The King of Barra told Mr. Town, that on the arrival of a ship, he had gone three hundred miles up the country with his guard, and driven down captives to the sea side. From Mar-raba, King of the Mundingoes, he learned, that they had marched slaves out of the country some hundred miles; that they ranged the woods, and took all they met with, the men bound, but the women loose: That they went to war on purpose to get slaves, and boasted that they should soon have a fine parcel for the shallops. He has SEEN the prisoners, as described by Mar-raba, the men bound, the women loose. He has KNOWN the natives go in gangs marauding, and catching all they could.

These are, indeed, only a few instances out of many that could be produced; but as the design of this Address is not to prevent, but to promote the reading of the Abstract, rather to excite than gratify your curiosity. You are again referred for particulars to that excellent book.

War is, in Africa, also called the Grand Pillage, to distinguish it from the lesser pillage or kidnapping. The war being conducted by large bodies of men belonging to the African king, from three hundred to three thousand; the lesser pillage by individuals or private persons, who lurk in ambush near the houses, and surprise all they can. Men have thus been taken, when at work in their gardens; women when they have gone out to walk, or to bathe.

In short, when a slave ship is upon the coast, there is no security for the unarmed and innocent. Villages are burned and pillaged; houses are forced, and their owners dragged from their beds to the shore. The laws even of hospitality are violated, and the guest has been seized by his host and sold into slavery. Every species of fraud is practised, and every art employed to procure slaves. This is not, however, a natural propensity; it is not a depravity of heart peculiar to the Africans; it is a monster of British growth, and transported thither by avarice. For, when there are no slave ships upon the coasts, all is peace on shore; and all the evidences declare, that in the interior parts of the country, where the natives have no communication with the slave merchants, the inhabitants are docile and industrious, ingenious artists, and skilful manufacturers: And that their capacities are equal at least to those of the Europeans. They are honest, generous, and hospitable; grateful and affectionate, humane and charitable, compassionate towards the distressed, and just in their dealings to all men. The very words of the witnesses are inserted:

It will not be necessary to say much of those who are said to be fold, as having been convicted of crimes. Few appear from the

the evidence to have been sold on this account; and of these few the greater part were sent to the ships for imputed, and not for real crimes. They are sold for the benefit of the judges. And one of King Damel's guards, who brought a free man to sell, for whom the King himself was to have the price, upon being asked if the man was guilty of the crime imputed to him? answered, That was of no consequence, or ever inquired into. Many are decoyed on board and then secured. A black pilot once asked Captain Hills, of the Royal Navy, pointing to two boys who were on shore, if they would do, and he would bring them. This he declined. The merchantmen, answered the pilot, would not refuse such an offer. You must not, however, from this instance conclude that the Europeans are always so honest: They are very ready to practise all those villanies themselves, which they have but too successfully taught others.

Three Guinea Captains from England, proposed to General Rooke, to kidnap one hundred or one hundred and fifty men, women, and children, the subjects of King Damel, who had come to Goree in consequence of the friendly intercourse between him and King Damel. He refused. They said such things had been done by a former governor.

A Captain of an English vessel was tempted by a fair wind, to sail away with several free negroes then drinking with the crew. He was soon driven back by contrary winds, seized and killed, with all his crew, and the crews of two other vessels who were with him. Mr. Bowman says, that when he was mate, Captain Strangeways sent him on shore to entice two traders on board. They came and were shown into the cabin, made drunk; the ship put under sail, and they were sold at Antigua. You may think this improbable, because a captain could not again appear upon the coast; but these depredations were left till the last voyage; and it is a fact, that some captains have done this the last voyage, that have not been known to have done it before. Mr. Town was once present at one of these expeditions of the whites to seize the blacks, when, to prevent alarm, they bound the mouths of the captives with oakum and handkerchiefs. This is a common practice, though, if discovered by the natives, they generally suffer for it. Mr. Bowman, when settled as a factor, informed the King at Scaffus, that his orders were to supply them with powder and ball, and to encourage them to go to war. One Paterfon, a captain of Liverpool, set two villages at variance, and treacherously brought away the prisoners from both.

Two slaves were taken from the island of Fernandippo, by a boat belonging to the Dobson of Liverpool, and carried to Old Calabar. Mr. Ellison (the witness) a few days after the transaction, went to the island for some yams, and fired, as the usual signal

signal to bring the natives. Seeing some of them peep through the bushes, he wondered they did not come to the boat; he accordingly swam on shore, when he was surrounded by the natives, and made to understand by signs, that a man and woman had been stolen, and they would kill him if they were not brought back; they were returned, and as soon as the natives saw their countrymen, they loaded the boat with yams, goats, fowls, honey, and palm wine, and would take nothing for it. This account, when contrasted with the following, will place the characters of the blacks and whites in a fair point of view for drawing a comparison between them.

Captain Hall says, in Old Calabar River there are two towns, Old Town and New Town. A rivalry in trade produced a jealousy between the towns; so that through fear of each other, for a considerable time, "no canoe would leave their towns to go up the river for slaves." This happened in 1767. In this year seven ships, of which five were the following: Duke of York, Bevan; Edgar, Lace; Indian Queen, Lewis; Nancy, Maxwell; and Canterbury, Sparkes; lay off the Point which separates the towns. Six of the captains invited the people of both towns on board on a certain day, as if to reconcile them: at the same time they agreed with the people of New Town to cut off all the Old Town people who should remain on board the next morning. The Old Town people persuaded of the sincerity of the captains' proposal, went on board in great numbers. Next morning, at eight o'clock, one of the ships fired a gun, as a signal to commence hostilities. Some of the traders were secured on board, some were killed in resisting, and some got overboard, and were fired upon. When the firing began, the New Town people, who were in ambush behind the Point, came forward, and picked up the people of Old Town, who were swimming, and had escaped the firing. After the firing was over, the captains of five of the ships delivered their prisoners (persons of consequence) to the New Town canoes, two of whom were beheaded along-side the ships. The inferior prisoners were carried to the West Indies. One of the captains, who had secured three of the king's brothers delivered one of them to the chief man of New Town, who was one of the two beheaded along-side; the other brothers, he kept on board, promising, "when the ship was slaved," to deliver them to the chief man of New Town. His ship was soon slaved on account of his promise, and the number of prisoners made that day; but he refused to deliver the king's two brothers, according to his promise, and carried them to the West Indies, and sold them. It happened, in process of time, that they escaped to Virginia, and from thence, after three years, to Bristol, where the captain who brought them, fearing he had done wrong, meditated carrying,

ing, or sending them back, but Mr. Jones of Bristol who had ships trading to Old Calabar, and hearing who they were, had them taken from the ship, (where they were in irons) by Habeas Corpus. After inquiry how they were brought from Africa, they were liberated, and put in one of Mr. Jones's ships for Old Calabar, where Captain Hall was, when they arrived in the ship Cato, Langdon.

So satisfied were the people of Old Town, in 1767, of the sincerity of the captains who invited them, and of the New Town people, towards a reconciliation, that the night before the massacre, the chief man of Old Town gave to the chief man of New Town, one of his favourite women as a wife. It was said that from "three to four hundred" persons were killed that day, in the ships, in the water, or carried off the coast.

The king escaped from the ship he was in, by killing two of the crew, who attempted to seize him. He then got into a one-man canoe, and paddled to the shore. A six pounder from one of the ships struck the canoe to pieces; he then swam on shore to the woods near the ships, and reached his own town, though closely pursued. It was said he received eleven wounds from musket shot.

We shall make no comment upon this dark narrative, but leave the reader to form his own opinion of the character of these degraded Africans, whom we are taught to consider as an inferior order of beings, little better than brutes, stupid and ignorant, unwilling to be taught, and incapable of instruction; insensible to kindness, and destitute of every moral principle, as if it were not sufficiently injurious to torment and enslave, without degrading them from their rank in the creation as men; and thus as it were excluding them from that protection they have a natural right to expect and demand.

Treatment of the Slaves in the Middle Passage.

You have seen in what manner slaves are usually made; we will now accompany them from their native country to the West Indies, and take a view of their treatment and accommodations in the Middle Passage, for so this voyage is called by those concerned in the trade.

On being brought on board, says Dr. Trotter, they shew signs of "extreme distress and despair, from a feeling of their situation, and regret at being torn from their friends and connections;" many retain those impressions for a long time; in proof of which, the slaves on board his ship being often heard in the night, making an howling melancholy noise, expressive of extreme anguish; he repeatedly ordered the woman, who had been his interpreter, to inquire into the cause. She discovered it to be

be owing to their having dreamt they were in "their own country again," and finding themselves when awake, in "the hold of a slave ship." This exquisite sensibility was particularly observable among the women, many of whom, on such occasions, he found in hysteric fits.

The men are linked two and two by the hands and feet; except they are sick. The women are always loose. On being brought upon deck, to air in a morning, they are secured by a large chain, which is run through a ring in their shackles, and thus locked in a body to ring bolts fastened on the deck. They are brought up about nine if it is fair, and remain till four; they have one fourth of a Scots pint of water every day, served at two different times. Their meals are chiefly of rice, yams, and horse beans, with now and then a little beef and bread; after meals they are made to jump in their irons. This is called dancing, by the dealers in slaves, and if they will not jump they are flogged. They are ordered to sing, but their songs are songs of sorrow, the subject of which is their wretched situation, and the idea of never returning home.

Dr. Trotter says, the slaves are stowed so close, that it is impossible to walk through them without treading upon them. It is the first mate's duty to see them stowed every day; and such as do not get quickly into their places are hastened by a cat of nine tails. When the scuttles are obliged to be shut, the gratings are not sufficient for airing the rooms, and the slaves breathe like animals exposed to foul air, or in the exhausted receiver of an air pump; he has heard them cry out "we are dying:" Many of them he has seen in a dying state, some have recovered by being brought on deck, others were suffocated, having no previous signs of indisposition.

Mr. Falconbridge says, to make the most of the room, he has wedged them in. That they had not so much room as a man in his coffin; he has known them go down apparently in good health at night, and to have been suffocated before morning. They lie upon the bare planks, without the power to ease themselves by a change of posture, and the motion of the ship bruises them very much; and the prominent parts of the body are excoriated, sometimes the bones are even laid bare. They have been seen to wallow in blood and excrements. In such a situation, and under such treatment, it is not surprising that they wish to die. They often refuse to eat, and persist in their refusal till life is extinguished, though every kind of torment is applied to force them to eat.

The following narrative will more than justify all that has been advanced on the cruel treatment of the slaves.

"In September 1781, the captain of a ship, then on the middle passage, had lost a considerable number of his slaves by

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"death.

“ death. The mortality was still spreading, and so rapidly, that
 “ it was impossible to say either where, or when it would end.
 “ Thus circumstanced, and uneasy at the thought of the loss,
 “ which was likely to accrue to his owners, he began to rack
 “ his ingenuity to repair it. He came at length to the diabolical
 “ resolution of selecting those that were the most sickly, and
 “ of throwing them into the sea; conceiving, that, if he could
 “ plead a necessity for the deed, the loss would devolve from the
 “ owners to the underwriters of the vessel.

“ The plea, which he proposed to set up, was a want of
 “ water, though neither the seamen, nor the slaves had been put
 “ upon short allowance.

“ Thus armed, as he imagined, with an invincible excuse, he
 “ began to execute his design. He selected accordingly one
 “ hundred and twenty-two of the most sickly of the slaves.
 “ Fifty-four of these were immediately thrown into the sea, and
 “ forty-two were made to be partakers of their fate on the suc-
 “ ceeding day.

“ But here, as if Providence expressly disapproved of the de-
 “ sign, and had determined to cut off his excuse, for sacrificing
 “ the rest, and exhibit a proof against him, a shower of rain
 “ immediately succeeded the transaction, and lasted for three
 “ days.

“ Notwithstanding this, the remaining twenty-six were brought
 “ upon deck to complete the number of victims, which avarice
 “ had at first determined to sacrifice to her shrine. The first
 “ sixteen submitted to be thrown into the sea; but the rest,
 “ with a noble resolution, would not suffer the contaminated
 “ **RECEIVERS** to touch them, but leaped after their compa-
 “ nions, and shared their fate.”

“ Thus was perpetrated a deed, unparalleled in the memory
 “ of man, or in the history of former times, and of so black,
 “ and complicated a nature, that, were it to be perpetuated to
 “ future generations, and to rest on the testimony of an indi-
 “ vidual, it could not possibly be believed.*”

They take other methods also to put an end to their own ex-
 istence; for, some of the slaves on board, says Mr. Claxton,
 “ had such an aversion to leaving their native places,” that they
 threw themselves overboard, on an idea that “ they should get
 “ back to their own country.” The captain, in order to obvi-
 ate this idea, thought of an expedient, viz. to cut off the heads
 of those who died, intimating to them, that if determined to go,
 they must return without their heads. The slaves were accord-
 ingly

* This horrid transaction is recorded in the annals of a public Court, an action was brought by the owners of the vessel against the underwriters, to recover the value of the murdered slaves. It was tried at Guildhall, London.

ingly brought up to witness the operation. One of them seeing, when on deck, the carpenter standing with his hatchet up ready to strike off the head of a dead slave, with a violent exertion got loose, and flying to the place where the nettings had been unloosed, in order to empty the tubs, he darted overboard. The ship brought to, and a man was placed in the main chains to catch him, which he perceiving, dived under water, and rising again at a distance from the ship, made signs, which words cannot describe, "expressive of his happiness in escaping." He then went down, and was seen no more. This circumstance deterred the captain from trying the expedient any more, and therefore he resolved for the future " (as he saw they were determined to throw themselves overboard)" to keep a strict watch; notwithstanding which, some afterwards contrived to unloose the lashing, so that two actually threw themselves into the sea, and were lost; another was caught when about three parts overboard.

There was, says Mr. Parker, a young child on board who refused to eat, for which the captain took it up in his hand, and flogged it with a cat, saying at the same time, "Damn you, I'll make you eat, or I'll kill you." The same child having swelled feet, the captain ordered them to be put into water, "though the ship's cook told him it was too hot." This brought off the skin and nails. He then ordered sweet oil and cloths, which Isaac Parker himself applied to the feet; and as the child at mess time again refused to eat, the captain again took it up and flogged it, and tied a log of mango wood eighteen or twenty inches long, and of twelve or thirteen pounds weight round its neck, as a punishment. He repeated the flogging for four days together at mess time. The last time after flogging it, he let it drop out of his hand, with the same expression as before, and accordingly in about three quarters of an hour the child died. He then called its mother to heave it overboard, and beat her for refusing. He however forced her to take it up, and go to the ship's side, "where holding her head on one side to avoid the sight, she dropped her child overboard, after which she cried for many hours."

It may not be improper here to state the opinion entertained of this trade, by some of the witnesses who had themselves been parties in it.

Mr. Falconbridge declares, that in his first and second voyage he reflected but little on the justice or injustice of the trade. In his last voyage he reflected more, and "the more he did so, the more he was convinced" it was an "unnatural, iniquitous, and villainous trade, and he could not reconcile it to his conscience." This was the reason for his leaving it. He adds, that he believes at the time he left it, he could have gone again

with Capt. Frazer, "if he had chosen it," and he was afterwards "repeatedly solicited" to go to the Gold Coast by Captain Thompson.

Captain Wilson declares from the whole of his experience, as an "impartial man" he has long since formed an opinion, " (which each succeeding day's experience has justified and "confirmed)" that it is a trade evidently "founded on injustice and treachery, manifestly carried on by oppression and "cruelty, and not unfrequently terminating in murder."

Captain Hall makes a declaration also, that when he left the trade he could have obtained the command of a ship in it, which command at that time "would have been a very lucrative one," but that he quitted it "from a conviction that it was perfectly "illegal, and founded in blood."

You will now have formed some judgment of the nature of the Slave-Trade, and the manner of conducting it. We shall not dwell upon any of the numerous inconveniencies and great hardships, which must necessarily be submitted to, in a voyage like this, especially when sickness or contagion prevails among the crew. These excite pity rather than indignation, and are indeed in themselves sufficient to deter every good mind from the pursuit of wealth in such a polluted channel. It is the wanton insult, the unprovoked outrage, the open violence, and secret fraud of this hated commerce, that so loudly demands redress. It is the unnecessary sufferings of these unhappy captives, and the miseries they are compelled to endure by the savage and unrelenting crew which conveys them from port to port. Naked, defenceless, unprotected, and in chains, they must submit to every indignity, and suffer every torment, that cowardice can devise, and cruelty inflict, upon its devoted victims; who are deprived of the power of revenge, the means of redress, and the consolation of complaint. Compared to the plank of a slave ship, the prisoner of war sleeps upon a bed of roses. The miseries they endure by living, and the animating hope of being restored again to their country and friends by death; impells them with an irresistible and generous ardour, to attempt their deliverance by rejecting food, by plunging into the sea, or by provoking death from the very hands of their persecutors. They sometimes rise, in the vain hope of satiating their revenge, in the blood of their oppressors. The instances of insurrections are rare, and of success more so. Guarded with all the circumspection that the consciousness of guilt can inspire; and secured by every method, that the just dread of retribution can invent; it is hardly possible to succeed. And if they fail, the tongs and iron tormentors are heated to burn their flesh, and they are put to death by a variety of tortures.

You have read, indeed, a dark and melancholy chapter of human

than depravity; and it were to be wished that we could stop here. You must accompany them to the plantations, and contemplate the sufferer in his new situation; where the rising sun awakes him to his toil, and the evening star guides him to his repose; where his sufferings commence with his captivity, and can end but with his existence. Let us, however, turn for a while from description, and appeal to facts.

State of the Slaves in the Plantations.

MR. MORLEY says, that in four voyages he purchased about 1325, and lost about 313. Mr. Town, in two voyages, 630, and lost 115. Mr. Claxton in one voyage, 250, and lost 132. In this voyage, he says, they were so straitened for provisions, that if they had been ten days more at sea, they must either have eaten the slaves that died, or have made the living slaves "walk the plank," a term "in use among Guinea captains for making the slaves throw themselves overboard." He says also that he fell in with the *Hero*, Captain Withers, which had lost 360 slaves, or more than half her cargo, by the small-pox. The surgeon of the *Hero* told him, that when the slaves were removed from one place to another, "they left marks of their skin and blood upon the deck," and it was the most horrid sight he had ever seen.

When the ships arrive at their destined ports, the slaves are exposed to sale. They are sold either by scramble or by vendue, (i. e.) public auction, or by lots. The sale by scramble is thus described by Mr. Falconbridge. "In the *Emilia*, says he, at Jamaica, the ship was darkened with sails, and covered round. The men slaves were placed on the main deck, and the women on the quarter deck. The purchasers on shore were informed a gun would be fired when they were ready to open the sale. A great number of people came on board with tallies or cards in their hands, with their own names upon them, and rushed through the barricado door with the ferocity of brutes. Some had three or four handkerchiefs tied together, to encircle as many as they thought fit for their purpose. In the yard at Grenada, he adds, (where another of his ships, the *Alexander*, sold by scramble) the women were so terrified, that several of them got out of the yard, and ran about St. George's town as if they were mad. In his second voyage, while lying at Kingston, he saw a sale by scramble on board the *Tryal*, Captain Macdonald. Forty or fifty of the slaves leaped into the sea, all of which, however, he believes, were taken up again." This is a very general mode of sale. Mr. Baillie says, it was the common mode in America where he has been. Mr. Fitzmaurice has been at twenty sales by scramble in Jamaica. Mr. Clappeson

Clappeson never saw any other mode of sale during his residence there, and it is mentioned as having been practised under the inspection of Morely and of Trotter.

The slaves sold by public auction or vendue are generally the "refuse," or sickly slaves. These are in such a state of health, that they sell, says Baillie, "greatly under price." Falconbridge has known them sold for "five dollars each," Town for "a guinea," and Mr. Hercules Ross as low as "a single dollar."

The state of such is described to be very deplorable by General Tottenham and Mr. Hercules Ross. The former says, that he once observed at Barbadoes a number of slaves that had been landed from a ship. They were brought into the yard adjoining the place of sale. Those that were not very ill were put into little huts, and those that were worse were left in the yard to die, for "nobody gave them any thing to eat or drink; and "some of them lived three days in that situation." The latter has frequently seen the very REFUSE (as they are termed) of the slaves of Guinea ships landed and carried to the vendue-masters in a very wretched state; sometimes in the agonies of death; and he has known instances "of their expiring in the piazza of "the vendue-master."

The loss of slaves in the passage is, upon the average, one-fourth of the cargo. When the small-pox is on board, nearly one-half. After the indecency of the sales, and the inhuman treatment of the refuse slaves, we shall see if their condition is improved by the change of masters. Slaves are divided into two classes in the plantations, Field slaves, and House or Indoor slaves.

The field slaves, whose case is the first to be considered, are called out by day-light to their work. For this purpose the bell blows, and they hurry into the field. If they are not there in time they are flogged. When put to their work, they perform it in rows; and, "without exception, under the whip of "drivers," a certain number of whom are allotted to each gang. By these means the weak are made to keep up with the strong. Mr. Fitzmaurice is sorry to say, that from this cause many of them are hurried to the grave, as the able, even if placed with the weakly to bring them up, will leave them behind, and then the weakly are generally flogged up by the driver. This, however, is the mode of their labour. As to the time of it, they begin, as before said, at day-light, and continue, with two intermissions, (one for half an hour in the morning, and the other for two hours at noon) till sunset.

The above description, however, does not include the whole of their operations for the day, for it is expected that they shall range about and pick grass for the cattle. It is clear, from the

different evidences, that the custom of grass-picking varies, as to the time in which it is to be done, on different estates, for on some it is to be done within the intervals of rest said to be allowed at noon, and on others after the labour of the day. It is complained of, however, in either case, as a great grievance, inasmuch as it lengthens the time of work; as also because, particularly in droughts, it is very difficult to find grass at all, and because if they do not bring it in sufficient quantities, they are punished. Grass-picking, says Captain Smith, is one of the most frequent causes of punishment. He has seen some flogged for not getting so great a quantity of it as others, and that at a time, when he has thought it "impossible they could have got-
" ten half the quantity," having been upon the spot.

It is impossible to pass over in silence the almost total want of indulgence which the women slaves frequently experience during their operations in the field, as the drivers make no distinction of sex in the use of the whip. If a pregnant woman is not able to keep up with the rest of the gang, the whip is applied without any regard to her situation. And even a woman who had retired to suckle her child, was called to work, and raised with a stroke of the whip. In some estates, lest they should destroy a slave, it is usual to dig an hole in the earth, into which they put the bellies of pregnant women while they whip them, that they may not remit a punishment, nor yet run any hazard of losing a slave.

The above account of the labour of the field slaves, is confined to that season of the year, when they are only preparing the land, and is called out of crop, to distinguish it from the crop season, when their toil is of much longer duration, when they are compelled to work as long as they can keep awake, or are able to stand. Some, through mere fatigue, and want of sleep, in passing the canes through the rollers of the mill, have suffered a hand to be drawn in and crushed off.

To this account of the labour of the slaves, both in and out of crop, it must be added here, that on some estates, it appears by the evidence, they have Sunday and Saturday afternoon out of crop to themselves, that is, to cultivate their own grounds for their support; on others, Sunday only; and on others, Sunday only in part, for some people require meat for the cattle on Sundays, to be gathered twice in the day; they are forced to work on Sundays for their masters. It appears again, that in crop, on no estates, have they more than Sunday for the cultivation of their lands. The Dean of Middleham has known them continue boiling the sugar till late on Sunday night, and in one instance remembers it to have been protracted till sun rise on Sunday morning: and the care afterwards of setting up the sugar-jars must have required several hours.

The

The point, which may be considered next, may be that of the slaves food. This appears by the evidence to be subject to no rule. On some estates they are allowed land, which they cultivate for themselves at the times mentioned above, but they have no provisions allowed them, except perhaps a small present of salt fish or beef, or salt pork, at Christmas. On others they are allowed provisions, but no land: and on others again they are allowed land and provisions jointly. Without enumerating the different ratios mentioned to be allowed them by the different evidences, it may be sufficient to take the highest. The best allowance is evidently at Barbadoes, and the following is the account of it. The slaves in general, says General Tottenham, appeared to be ill fed: each slave had one fourth of a Scots pint of grain for twenty-four hours, and sometimes half a rotten herring when to be had. When the herrings were "unfit for the whites," they were bought up by the planters "for the slaves." This fact was brought forward by Mr. B. W-----n, a violent advocate for the Slave-Trade, from his place in the House of Commons; he urged it as an argument against the abolition, that the slaves consumed the refuse of the fish, which no one else would touch. Such men ought to be held up as examples of humanity. Mr. Davis says, that on those estates in Barbadoes where he has seen the slaves allowance dealt out, a grown negro had two Scots pints and a quarter of corn, and about one pound of salt fish a week, but the grain of the West Indies is much lighter than wheat. He is of opinion, that in general they were too sparingly fed. The Dean of Middleham also mentions the same quantities per week as given, but that he has known masters abridge it in the time of crop. This is the greatest allowance mentioned throughout the whole of the evidence, and this is one of the cases in which the slaves had provisions, but no land. Where, on the other hand, they have land and no provisions, all the evidences agree that it is quite ample to their support, but that "they have not sufficient time to cultivate it." Their lands too are often at the distance of three miles from their houses; the slaves were often so fatigued by the labour of the week, as "scarcely to be capable of working in them on Sunday for their own use." It is also mentioned as a great hardship, that often when they had cleared these lands, their master has taken them away for canes, giving them new wood-land in their stead, to be cleared afresh. This circumstance, together with the removal of their houses, many of them have so taken to heart, as to have died.

Whether or not their food may be considered as sufficient in general for their support, may be better seen from the following than the preceding account. Mr. Cook says, that they have not sufficient food. He has known both Africans and Creoles eat the putrid carcases of animals, and is convinced they did it
 "through

"through want." Mr. J. Terry has known them, on estates "where they have been worse fed than on others," eat the putrid carcases of animals also. Dead mules, horses, and cows, were all burnt under the inspection of a white man. Had they been buried, the negroes would have dug them up in the night to eat them "through hunger." It was generally said to be done to prevent the negroes from eating them, lest it should breed distempers.

The next object for your consideration is the mode of punishing the slaves. The punishments are in the evidence called ordinary and extraordinary; when you have read the accounts of them, you will be led to think them all very extraordinary.

Ordinary Punishments of the Slaves.

THE whip, says Woolrich, is generally made of plaited cow-skin, with a thick strong lash. It is so formidable an instrument in the hands of some of the overseers, that by means of it they can take the skin off a horse's back. He has heard them boast of laying the marks of it in a deal board, and he has seen it done. On its application on a slave's back he has seen the blood spurt out immediately on the first stroke.

In "the towns" many people have their slaves flogged upon their own premises, in which case it is performed by a man, who is paid for it, and who goes round the town in quest of delinquents. But those, says Mr. H. Ross, who do not chuse to disturb their neighbours with the slaves cries, send them to the wharfs or goal, where they are corrected also by persons paid. At other times they are whipped publicly round the town, and at others tied down, or made to stand in some public place, and receive it there.

When they are flogged on the wharfs, to which they go for the convenience of the cranes and weights, they have their ARMS tied to the "hooks of the crane," and "weights of fifty-fix pounds applied to their feet." In this situation the crane is wound up, so that it lifts them nearly from the ground, and keeps them in a stretched posture, when the whip or cow-skin is used. After this they are again whipped, but with "ebony bushes" (which are more prickly than the thorn-bushes in this country) in order to "let out the congealed blood." Captain Scott, describing it says, that he saw a white man pursue a negro into the water, bring him out, and take him to the wharf, where he had him hung up to a crane by the hands, which were tied together, and weights tied to his feet. When thus hoisted up, but so as still to touch the ground, another negro was ordered to whip him with a prickly bush. He walked away from the disagreeable sight. The next day he saw the

same negro lying on the beach, and, with the assistance of another, taking the prickles out of his breech, seemingly swelled and bloody. The negro assigned as a reason for the whipping, the wharfinger thought "he had staid too long on an errand."

Respecting the whippings in goal and round the town, Dr. Harrison thought them too severe to be inflicted on any of the human species. He attended a man, who had been flogged in goal, who was ill in consequence five or six weeks. It was by his master's order "for not coming when he was called." He could lay two or three fingers in the wounds made by the whip.

On the other mode General Tottenham observes, that he was at a planter's house when the Jumper came. He heard him ask the master, if he had any commands for him. The Master replied, No. The Jumper then asked the Mistress, who replied, Yes. She directed him to take out two very decent women, who attended at table, and to give each of them a dozen lashes. General Tottenham expostulated with her, but in vain. They were taken out to the public parade, and he had the curiosity to go with them. The Jumper carried a long whip like our waggoners. He ordered one of the women to turn her back, and to take up her clothes entirely, and he gave her a dozen on the breech. Every stroke brought flesh from her. She behaved with astonishing fortitude. After the punishment, she, according to custom, curtsied and thanked him: the other had the same punishment, and behaved in the same way.

As a further proof of the severity, pregnant women have been whipt till they have miscarried, and both the mother and child have died. One Planter flogged his driver to death, and boasted of it. Others have died under the lash, or soon after their punishment. From all these relations, as well as those which follow, it clearly appears that the slaves are exposed to the caprice and cruelty of their masters, without any protection from the law; the most abject and deplorable condition of human beings.

Extraordinary Punishments.

HAVING now collected what is said on the punishments by the whip and cow-skin, it will be proper to mention those other modes with which the evidence presents us. These, however, are not easily subject to a division from the great variety of their kinds.

Captain Cook, speaking of the towns, says, he has been shocked to see a girl of sixteen or seventeen, a domestic slave, running in the streets on her ordinary business "with an iron collar, "having two hooks projecting several inches both before and "behind."

Slaves have been severely punished, then "put into the stocks,"

a cattle chain" of sixty or seventy pounds weight put on them, and a large collar about their necks, and a weight of fifty-six pounds fastened to the chain when they were drove a-field.

When runaways are brought in, they are generally severely flogged, and sometimes have an iron boot put on one or both legs, and a chain or collar round their neck. The chain is locked, the collar fastened on by a rivet. When the collar is with three projections, it is impossible for them to lie down to sleep: even with two, they must lie uneasily. He has seen collars with four projections. He never knew any injury from the chain and collar, but severely galling their necks. He has, however, known a negro lose his leg from wearing the iron boot.

Captain Cook being on a visit to General Frere at an estate of his in Barbadoes, and riding one morning with the General and two other officers, they saw near a house, upon a dunghill, a naked negro nearly suspended, by strings from his elbows backwards, to the bough of a tree, with his feet barely upon the ground, and an iron weight round his neck, at least in appearance of 14 lb. weight: and thus without one creature near him, or apparently near the house, was this wretch left, exposed to the noon-day sun. Returning a few hours after, they found him still in the same state, and would have released him, but for the advice of General Frere, who had an estate in the neighbourhood. The gentlemen, through disgust, shortened their visit, and returned the next morning.

A negro man, in Jamaica, says Doctor Harrison, was put on the picket so long as to cause a mortification of his foot and hand, on suspicion of robbing his master, a public officer, of a sum of money, which it afterwards appeared, the master had taken himself. Yet the master was privy to the punishment, and the slave had no compensation. He was punished by order of the master, who did not then chuse to make it known that he himself had made use of the money.

Mr. Fitzmaurice mentions, among other instances of cruelty, that of dropping hot lead upon negroes, which he often saw practised by a planter of the name of Rushie, during his residence in Jamaica.

Mr. Hercules Ross, hearing one day, in Jamaica, from an inclosure, the cries of some poor wretch under torture, he looked through, and saw a young female "suspended by the wrists to a tree, swinging to and fro." Her toes could barely touch the ground, and her body was exceedingly agitated. The sight rather confounded him, as there was no whipping, and the master was just by, seemingly motionless; but, on looking more attentively, he saw in his hand "a stick of fire," which "he held so" as occasionally to touch her about her private parts as she swung. He continued "this torture" with unmoved

countenance, until Mr. H. Ross, calling on him to desist, and throwing stones at him over the fence, stopped it.

Mr. Fitzmaurice once found Rushie, the Jamaica planter before mentioned, "in the act of hanging a negro." Mr. Fitzmaurice begged leave to intercede, as he was doing an action that, in a few minutes, he would repent of. Rushie, upon this, being a passionate man, ordered him off his estate. Mr. Fitzmaurice accordingly went, but returned early the next morning, before Rushie was up, and going into the curing-house, beheld the same negro "lying dead upon a board." It was notorious that Rushie "had killed many" of his negroes, and destroyed them so fast, that he was obliged to sell his estate.---Captain Ross says also, that there was a certain planter in the same island, who "had hanged a negro on a post, close to his house," and in three years destroyed forty negroes, out of sixty, by severity. The rest of the conduct of this planter, as described by Captain Ross, was, after a debate, cancelled by the Committee of the House of Commons who took the evidence, as containing circumstances too horrible to be given to the world; and therefore the reader will find their places supplied by asterisks, in the evidence at large.

On Shrewsbury estate, in Jamaica, the overseer sent for a slave, and in talking with him, he hastily "struck him on the head, with a small hanger, and gave him two stabs about the waist." The slave said "Overseer, you have killed me." He pushed him out of the piazza. The slave went home, and died that night. He was buried, and no more said about it.---A manager of an estate in Tortola, whose owner did not reside on the island, sitting at dinner, in a sudden resentment at his cook, went directly to his sword, and "ran the negro woman through the body, and she died upon the the floor immediately," and the negroes were called in to take her away and bury her.

Mr. Giles recollects several shocking instances of punishment. In particular, on the estate where he lived, in Montserrat, the driver at day-break once informed the overseer, that one of the four or five negroes, chained in the dungeon, would not rise. He accompanied the overseer to the dungeon, who set the others to drag him out, and not rising when out, he ordered "a bundle of cane trash to be put round him, and set fire to." As he still did not rise, he had a small "folding iron heated, and thrust between his teeth." As the man did not yet rise, he had the chain taken off, and sent him to the hospital, where he Languished some days and DIED.

An overseer, on an estate in Grenada, (Mr. Coghlan) threw a slave into "the boiling cane-juice," who "died in four days."

Having now stated the substance of the evidence on the subject

ject of offences and punishments, we come to a custom which appears too general to be passed over in silence.

Dalrymple, Forster, Captain Smith, Captain Wilson, and General Tottenham, assert that "it is no uncommon thing" for persons to "neglect and turn off" their slaves when past labour. They are turned off, say Captain Wilson, Lieutenant Davison, and General Tottenham, "to plunder, beg, or starve." Captain Cook has known some take care of them; but says, others leave them "to starve and die." They are often desired when old, says Mr. Fitzmaurice, "to provide for themselves," and they suffer much. Mr. Clappeson knew a man who had an old decrepid woman slave, to whom "he would allow nothing." When past labour, the owner "did not feed them," says Giles; and Cook states that, within his experience, they had no food "but what they could get" from such relations as they might have had. This is the account given by the different witnesses; and accordingly we find some of the superannuated slaves on the different estates, "who wanted every thing" (Harrison); others begging (Rees); others "digging in the dunghill for food," (Dalrymple); and others lying, miserable objects, about the "wharfs and beaches," and in the "roads and streets" (Jeffreys, J. Woodward, and Cook). General Tottenham has often met them, and, once in particular, an old woman, past labour, who told him that her master had "set her adrift to shift for herself." He saw her about three days afterwards, "lying dead" in the same place. This custom of turning them off when old and helpless is called in the islands (Captain Wilson and Captain Lloyd) "Giving them free."

As a proof "how little the life of an old slave is regarded" in the West-Indies, we may take the following extract from the evidence of Mr. Coor. Once when he was dining with an overseer, an old woman who had run away a few days, was brought home, with her hands tied behind. After dinner, the overseer, with the clerk, named Bakewell, took the woman, thus tied, to the hot-house, a place for the sick, and where the stocks are in one of the rooms. Mr. Coor went to work in the mill, about one hundred yards off, and hearing a most distressful cry from that house, he asked his men, who and what it was. They said they thought it was old Quasheba. About five o'clock the noise ceased, and about the time he was leaving work, Bakewell came to him, apparently in great spirits, and said, "Well Mr. Coor, Old Quasheba is dead. We took her to the stocks-room; the overseer threw a rope over the beam; I was Jack Ketch, and hauled her up, till her feet were off the ground. The overseer locked the door, and took the key with him, till my return just now, with a slave for the stocks, when I found her dead," Mr Coor said, "You have killed her, I heard her

cry.

cry all the afternoon." He answered, "D---n her for an old b---h, she was good for nothing; what signifies killing such an old woman as her." Mr. Coor said, "Bakewell, you shock me," and left him. The next morning his men told him, they had helped to bury her.

But it appears that the aged are not the only persons whose fate is to be commiserated, when they become of no value; for people in youth, if disabled, are abandoned to equal misery. General Tottenham, about three weeks before the hurricane, saw a youth, about nineteen walking in the streets, in a most deplorable situation, "entirely naked, and with an iron collar about his neck, with five long projecting spikes. His body, before and behind, his breech, belly, and thighs, were almost cut to pieces, and with running sores all over them, and you might put your finger in some of the wheals. He could not sit down, owing to his breech being in a state of mortification, and it was impossible for him to lie down, from the projection of the prongs." The boy came to the General and asked relief. He was "shocked at his appearance," and asked him "what he had done to suffer such a punishment," and who inflicted it. He said it was his master, who lived about two miles from town, "and that as he could not work, he would give him nothing to eat."

If it be possible to view human depravity in a worse light than it has already appeared in on the subject of the treatment of the slaves when disabled from labour, it may be done by referring to the evidence of Captain Lloyd, who was told by a person of veracity, when in the West-Indies, but whom he did not wish to name in his evidence, that it was the practice of a certain planter to "frame pretences for the execution of his old worn out slaves, in order to get the island allowance.*" And it was supposed that he dealt pretty largely in that way.

If it should be asked for what offences the different punishments now cited have taken place, the following answer may be given.

The slaves appear to have been punished, as far as can be ascertained from the evidence under the head of ordinary punishments, for not coming into the field "in time," not picking "a sufficient quantity of grass," not appearing willing to work, when in fact "sick and not able," for staying "too long" on an errand, for not coming "immediately when" called, for not bringing home (the women) "the full weekly sum" enjoined by their owners, for "running away," and for "theft", to which they were "often" driven by "hunger."

Under

* The island allowance in Jamaica to the master is 40l. currency for any one of his slaves if executed for a breach of the laws.

Under the head of "extraordinary punishments," some appear to have suffered for "running away," or for lifting up a hand against "a white man," or for "breaking a plate or spilling a cup of tea, or to extort confession." Others again in the "moments of sudden resentment," and one on a diabolical pretext, which the master held out to the world "to conceal his own villany, and which he knew to be false."

Under the head of "the part which the very women take in these punishments," a female slave is punished for "being found pregnant;" another for not bringing home the "full wages of prostitution;" another "for jealousy" on the part of her mistress; others again from an opinion that slaves could not be managed without severity; and others in the moments of passion, "without even the allegation of a fault." In short, it appears that they are often punished as caprice and passion dictates, and to such lengths do people go, whose minds are depraved by the exercise of unlimited power, that we find an instance in the evidence related by Dr. Harrison, (who knows also others of the kind) of a man buying a negro, who belonged to another man, but who mimicked him, for the purpose "of gratifying his revenge." After having bought him, he ordered him to be punished, and the consequence was, that "the slave cut his own throat."

It is not without hesitation and reluctance, that the depravity of the women is thus publicly exposed. The sacrifice, however, must be made to truth, and humanity. Nor is it possible to produce a stronger instance, of the baneful influence of the Slave-Trade over the mind of man; which has not only the power to subdue every honest propensity, and to eradicate every principle of generosity from his heart; but to change the very nature of woman. To deprive her of all that gentleness and compassion, that modesty and meekness, which have ever been justly the noblest distinction of the sex, and its fairest ornament. Women, even of rank, have inflicted with their own hands the most severe and cruel punishments upon their slaves.

Two young ladies of fortune in Barbadoes, tied a young slave neck and heels with their own garters, and beat her almost to death with the heels of their shoes. One Rachael Lauder, with the heels of her shoes, beat another slave almost to death, and tried to stamp her head through the hole of a necessary, and would have murdered her, but for the intervention of two officers.

A Creole lady of consequence, attended the punishments of her slaves, male and female, and flogged the negro driver with her own hands, if he did not punish properly. Many other instances may be found in the Abstract.

Horrid as these cruelties may sound to an European ear, in the plantations, they are neither corrected by their laws, nor leave

leave a single stain upon the characters of those who practise them, so completely has this traffic broken down every barrier of humanity, and brutalized mankind. The reader will do well to pause a few moments, and reflect seriously upon the situation of a slave, in a country where the laws that should protect him sleep, and where society countenances oppression.

Whipping is indeed restricted, by their laws, to thirty-nine lashes for one offence; but this is evaded by splitting crimes, and by intervals dividing the time of punishment. Lieut. Davison returning home one evening late with Major Fitch of the 90th regt. they heard most dreadful cries, and, on approaching the square at Bridge-town, found they proceeded from the house of a man that sold liquor, and heard the repeated lashes of a whip, on a creature whom they conceived to be dying. On their requesting admission, the cruelty seemed to be wantonly increased, which so provoked them that they broke open the door, and found a negro girl of about nineteen chained to the floor, almost expiring with agony and loss of blood. The man taking refuge behind his counter from their indignation, and thinking himself free from the law, immediately cried out with exultation, that he had only given her "thirty-nine lashes at a time," and that only three times since the beginning of the night. He then "threatened them" for breaking his door, and "interfering between him and his slave," whom he "would flog to death for all any one," and he would give her the fourth thirty-nine lashes before morning, which must have killed her, as she seemed to be dying. Lieutenant Davison was so hurt at the severe and frequent whippings of one of these women, that he complained to a magistrate, who said "he had nothing to do with it."

To give some countenance to these enormities, the advocates for the Slave-Trade would persuade you, that such severity is necessary; and that we cannot estimate the feelings of the negroes by our own, as they are an inferior order of beings. Every thing we know of them, and every thing we have heard from persons of credit directly contradicts this impudent and unfounded assertion. Every evidence in the House of Commons who were examined on this point, on the part of the petitioners, contradicts it. As an instance, Surgeon Wilson says, that at Bonny, one of the people called Breechies, of the higher class, was brought on board. He seemed to take his situation to heart, and became ill; but from indulgencies, which none of the rest had, he partly recovered. When he was convalescent, a young woman was brought on board, who proved to be his sister. On their first meeting, they stood in silence, and looked at each other apparently with the greatest affection;---they rushed into each others arms---embraced---separated themselves again---and again

again embraced. Surgeon Wilson perceived the tears to run down the female's cheeks. The man had a return of his former complaint, and his sister attended him with the greatest care. The first thing she did of a morning, was to come to him and ask how her brother did. He at length died---on the news of this, his sister wept bitterly, tore her hair, and shewed other signs of distraction. They carried her safe to South America, and there delivered her as a slave.

Slave-Trade destructive of Seamen.

ANOTHER argument in support of the Slave-Trade, is drawn from its supposed advantage to Great Britain, as a nursery for seamen; and that its abolition would weaken our navy, and greatly impair the strength of the nation. This is so far from the truth, that, instead of the preserver, it is the destroyer of our seamen; not their nursery, but their grave. This will clearly be proved from the following account, which you will observe is authentic.

ABSTRACT of such of the Muster-rolls of Liverpool and Bristol Slave-Ships as were returned into the Custom-Houses there, from September 1784, to January 5th 1790.

PERIODS.	No of Vessels.	Original Crews.	Died of original Crews.	Brought Home of Original Crews.
From 1784 to 1785, - - - - -	74	2915	615	1279
From 1785 to 1786, - - - - -	62	2163	436	944
From 1786 to 1787, - - - - -	66	2136	433	1073
From 1787 to 1788, - - - - -	68	2422	623	1114
From 1788 to Jan. 5, 1790, - - -	80	2627	536	1350
Total,	350	12,263	2643	5760

It appears first, then, that if we look at the seamen while employed on board their respective ships, and judge of them from the above accounts, we shall see the destructive nature of the Slave-Trade, for it appears that in 350 vessels 12,263 seamen were employed, out of whom 2643 were lost, that is to say, that

D. " more.

"more than a fifth" of the "whole number employed," or more than "seven in every single voyage," perished.

If again we look at such of them as are discharged or desert in the West-Indies, where the muster-rolls cease to take an account of them, (for so systematical does the management of the trade appear by the second and fourth columns, that "nearly" "one-half of those who go out with the ships are constantly" "left behind," and judge of them by what the different evidences have to say of them there, we shall see great reason to apprehend another very severe loss "besides that already" "stated" to happen among them while on board their respective ships.

In the other vessels which are employed in the West-Indian, but not in the Slave-Trade, the loss is only one in sixty-five; and in the King's ships, not more than one in a hundred; which shews, at once, the destruction of our seamen by the Slave-Trade, where one-fifth actually die in their passage. When the middle passage is made, and the slaves at market, a few men are sufficient to navigate the vessel to England; and it is the interest of the captain, as well as of the merchant, to reduce the crew to a smaller number.

It appears also from the testimony of Ellison, Clappeson, and Young, that the men desert from ill usage, and that the captains, "these nursing Fathers of our Seamen," treat their crews ill, that they may desert, and forfeit their wages. And it is no uncommon practice of the captains, to send on shore, a few hours before they sail, their lame, sick, and emaciated seamen, leaving them to languish in sickness, and perish by want of sustenance. This is the boasted nursery of British seamen.

It has been said, that the West-Indian islands cannot be cultivated without fresh negroes, nor the numbers kept up by births; so that if the Slave-Trade is abolished, the West-Indies must be given up also. Admitting this to be true, which is absolutely false, it is hoped that no one who is acquainted with the nature of the trade, would hesitate even to make this sacrifice. Can any advantage which the merchants of Great Britain may derive, or even the nation reap from such a traffic, sanction the measure, or justify its continuance? How can any Christian admit of such a motive? Or is there a man upon earth, who is not warped by prejudice, biased by self-interest, impelled by avarice, or instigated by some unnatural and unaccountable depravity of heart, who has the effrontery to maintain, That the same measures can be expedient and unjust, or politically right, yet morally wrong? The abolition of the Slave-Trade, will it is hoped and believed, neither injure the individual, or contract the commerce of this country, but open to us new and productive sources of trade. The natural productions
of

of Africa are numerous and valuable, as sugar, cotton, indigo, rice, Indian-corn, spices, and tobacco, ivory, gold, and wood. These may, by cultivation, be brought to as great perfection as in any tropical country in the world; and the natives want only the motive (for they have knowledge and industry) to present the Europeans with these articles as saleable, and as good in their kind as either the products of the East or West-Indies. The friends to the Slave-Trade treat this as chimerical, and assert that the negroes will never work at all. They are always willing to labour when they have any prospect of being paid. They not only wood and water the ships, but hire themselves as labourers to the Europeans at a low price. Their wish is always to trade in the produce of their country; and, they all say, was the Slave-Trade stopped, that they would soon find another.

In the abstract of the evidence, you will find a short account of such regulations in the treatment of the slaves, as would, if adopted, greatly alleviate their sufferings, increase their numbers by births, and render their labour much easier, without any loss of time to their masters. Wherever these alterations have only in part taken place, every expectation has been fully answered. And in several of these plantations, the slaves have increased so fast, that without the importation or purchase of a single negro, the proprietors have not only been enabled to cultivate their plantations with full effect, but to stock other settlements from the surplus of slaves bred and raised upon these estates. And there is not a doubt, but if the regulations were wholly adopted, there would be no necessity to continue the importation of slaves from Africa.

The most obvious causes of decrease among the slaves are these. Excessive toil, severe punishments, and unlimited severity; the promiscuous intercourse of the sexes, and of the black women with the white men; want of attention to the pregnant women, and neglect of the children when born. The causes of increase by births, or the remedies of the above evils are next illustrated by the following extract.

The causes of the increase by births, on one of the estates mentioned, viz. on the Marquis de Rouvray's of St Domingo, are described by Captain Hall, as follows:

The slaves were never hard pressed in their work. The Marquis suffered no improper intercourse between the males and females: every man had his own wife, and no white was suffered to disjoin that union. Hospitals were built for the sick and pregnant. The latter, when far advanced, were taken in there, and employed in trifling work, till the time of their delivery. Here they might remain, separated from their husbands, and excused from field labour, till the child could be supported

ported without the mother's help, or when their strength would permit, return with the child to their husbands, and take the chance of work. In consequence, the Marquis had not, for some years, occasion to buy negroes. Having, however, left his estate to the care of a nephew, upon his return, after an absence of two years, instead of the happiness that reigned when he left it, he found nothing but misery and discontent. The whites had seized upon the pretty women: their husbands, through discontent ran away, and the labour falling heavier upon the rest, they became discontented, and their work was badly carried on: so that it cost him two years, before he could re-establish order. It was a pleasure to walk through his estate; for the slaves used to look upon him as a father.

It is of importance to cite this estate, because, in consequence of the above regulations, its gang increased; because, when they were violated it went back; and because, when they were re-established, it was restored to its former state.

CONCLUSION.

THE outlines of the evidence on the part of the petitioners for the Abolition of the Slave-Trade, has now been laid before you. The nature of the trade briefly explained, and you have been informed in what manner it is conducted; by open force, and secret fraud. You have seen every principle of honesty eradicated from the breasts of Africans, and the virtue of kingdoms gradually worn down, by their intercourse with the European traders. The conduct of the captains, the hardships and mortality of the seamen, and the sufferings of their wretched cargo, must not only have excited your pity, but roused your honest indignation. You have been conducted also to the plantations, and there witnessed scenes too shocking to be again repeated. And you will be ready to exclaim with every friend of humanity, the Slave-Trade must be abolished, and the national guilt, and the national disgrace must perish together. Was the wealth of the West-Indies, or its commercial consequence to Great Britain increased ten fold, we would not hesitate to reject them upon such conditions.

It is, however, but just and candid to observe, that the evidence on one side only has been yet stated. The other is not purposely withheld, with a design to propagate falsehood, or conceal the truth. To have given even a sketch of it in a tract like this, was impracticable*. The evidence on the part of the petitioners,

* The whole of the evidence may be seen in the Minutes of the House of Commons. And an impartial Abstract of these Minutes, in Four Volumes, is in all the Public Libraries, and some copies are lodged also with Mr. Haliburton of the Excise Office, Edinburgh.

petitioners, is positive, attesting facts which were done in the presence of the witnesses themselves. The testimony on the part of the slave merchants is mostly negative. Both therefore, though seemingly contradictory, may be strictly true. Nor is there an intention, or even a wish, to insinuate the contrary. Many of the witnesses on the side of the planters, are gentlemen of high character, and unimpeached integrity, to whose services and fidelity, as naval officers, this country is deeply indebted. These all say that they never saw any cruelty committed by the planters upon their slaves; nor were they ever likely to see any improper conduct, which could be concealed from their observation. The whole of that mass of evidence only proves that these barbarities were not universal.---That some captains were honest and humane; some planters generous and kind. This we wish not to deny, for the honour of our country, and the credit of mankind. But that there are many bad men in the trade, and worse in the islands, has been incontrovertibly proved. And upon this testimony, the abolition of the Slave-Trade must entirely rest.

Much has been said of the folly of those who wish to abolish the Slave-Trade, and the dangerous tendency of their misguided zeal. They are accused of holding up to the negroes the delusive hope of immediate emancipation, which must terminate in disappointment and despair, and drive the slaves to rise against their masters, with all the horrors of a general revolt. No such event has ever been seriously expected; nor did we hear of a single murmur among the blacks when Mr. Wilberforce's bill was so unaccountably lost in the House of Commons. If ever an insurrection should take place, it must originate in the obstinacy of their oppressors; but never in the kindness of their friends. The prospect of relief is not likely to drive them to despair. The slaves well know, and have long known, there is no intention to set them at liberty, but to alleviate their sufferings, and afford them every comfort consistent with their condition. The advocates for slavery are at this moment most industriously circulating a small pamphlet, to mislead the ignorant, and alarm the timorous. It is an account of the insurrections in St. Domingo. The situation of the whites in the French settlements there, is greatly to be pitied; they are exposed to the ravages of an enraged and savage mob, who carry fire and sword wherever they go, and every step is marked with blood. They wish you to believe, that the friends of the blacks in France have excited them to this rebellion. This is indeed an heavy charge upon some of the French, were it true. Yet it does not in the least degree apply to us, as the circulation of this book would artfully insinuate. The origin of the insurrection in Domingo is too well known, for this gross imposition to pass.

It was the pride and obstinacy of the whites which drove them to their fate, by an impolitic and foolish dissention with the mulattoes, and with each other. The slaves watched their opportunity, and took advantage of these divisions; and have indeed succeeded too well. There is not a single proof in the book of the truth of these assertions, nor a circumstance that makes it even probable, that the friends of the blacks excited and encouraged them to rise. The charge is indeed made, but not supported. It is merely an invective of the whites smarting under the worst of persecution, and driven to despair. The motto chosen by the editors or translators, for this book, was written in French, and is more applicable to the planter and the slave merchant, than to the friends of the blacks; and it is the sincere wish of every humane man, that they may attend cautiously to their own admonitions; and by making a proper use of the miseries in Domingo, escape every danger at home; and thus, indeed, "enjoy all the advantages of prudence, from the contemplation of misfortunes not properly their own."



THE END.

A large, stylized, handwritten flourish or signature, possibly reading "Z" or "L", located below the text "THE END."

ADVERTISEMENT.

As the Inhabitants of the City of Edinburgh, have been requested to meet in the Parliament House, on Monday the twenty-seventh of this month, to sign a petition to the House of Commons, for the Abolition of the Slave-Trade; it is expected this Meeting will be numerous and respectable. Many Counties in South Britain, and a great number of Cities, Towns, and Boroughs, both in England and Scotland, have not only held Meetings for this purpose, but are in great forwardness with their several Petitions.

It is the general wish of the friends to the Abolition of the Slave-Trade, that all who intend to adopt this constitutional mode of seeking redress from Parliament, will lose no time in preparing and sending up their Petitions. And they desire that they may be pointed and explicit, as to the object of their prayer, but respectful and free of other political disquisition; as not only foreign to their present purpose, but tending to weaken the force of their *application*.

☞ SOME Persons have been apprehensive lest they should, by signing a Petition, become liable to a demand for Money, and be thus drawn into a considerable expence. It is thought necessary to inform them, that no expence whatever will be incurred by their signature, to a Petition to the House of Commons.



